

The University of Chicago

A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE WAKEFIELD
GROUP IN TOWNELEY ON THE BASIS OF SIG-
NIFICANT RIME-WORDS WITH COMPARISON
OF FORMS WITHIN THE LINE IN BOTH
THE TOWNELEY AND THE YORK PLAYS

BASED ON A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
1933

BY

MARGARET TRUSLER

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE WAKEFIELD PLAYWRIGHT

By MARGARET TRUSLER

Although the Towneley plays, and especially the Wakefield group, have been the object of much research,¹ investigators have largely neglected the linguistic approach to this material. From the time Miss Smith observed in her edition of the York plays that the York and Towneley cycles were written in the same dialect,² the language of Towneley has not been intensively studied. An occasional note on some isolated form, a few generalizations, have marked the limits of research in this field.³ This fact, added to my interest in the literary craftsmanship of the so-called Wakefield playwright, was largely responsible for the genesis of the detailed investigation from which the conclusions set forth in this article are drawn.⁴

¹ Helpful surveys of the literature on the Towneley cycle may be found: Marie C. Lyle, *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles*, Dissertation (Minneapolis, 1919), Intro.

Millicent Carey, *The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle, A Study to Determine the Conventional and Original Elements in Four Plays Commonly Ascribed to the Wakefield Author* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930), Intro.

Louis Wann, "The Influence of French Farce on the Towneley Cycle of Mystery Plays," *Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters Transactions*, XIX (1917-18), 356-68.

² Lucy Toulmin Smith, *York Plays . . .* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1885), Intro., xlv.

³ See, for instance: Asmus Bunzen, *Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der Wakefielder Mysterien* (Kiel, 1903), pp. 21-22; Frances Foster, "Was Gilbert Pilkington Author of the *Secunda Pastorum*?" *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 134 f.; Matthew H. Peacock, "The Wakefield Mysteries. The Place of Representation," *Anglia*, XXIV (1901-4), 510, 520; William Strunk, Jr., "Two Notes on the Towneley Second Shepherds' Play," *MLN*, XLV (1930), 151; Millicent Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 233; Robert Withington, "'Water Fast-and,'" *MLN*, L (1935), 95-96.

⁴ This article is condensed and rearranged, with supplementary details, from *A Study of the Language of the Wakefield Group in Towneley on the Basis of Significant Rime-Words with Comparison of Forms within the Line in Both the Towneley and the York Plays*. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of English, University of Chicago, 1933.

I wish to make grateful acknowledgment to the following members of the Department of English Language and Literature of The University of

My study began as an analysis of the rime-words in the plays and parts of plays now generally ascribed to the Wakefield dramatist.⁵ At the outset I was confronted by serious difficulties. In the first place, there is only one extant manuscript of the Towneley cycle.⁶ This manuscript has obviously been corrupted by scribes and probably also by actors.⁷ It is clear, therefore, that a decision as to what the author's form probably was must precede the drawing of conclusions from textual irregularities, and hence that an undesirably large percentage of conclusions regarding details must deal in probabilities rather than in clear-cut decisions.⁸ Determination of the author's original forms has been further complicated by the fact that humorous writers often deliberately use impure rime to create a more facetious tone.

A second obstacle has been the inaccessibility of the Towneley manuscript to me. This difficulty, however, has been largely offset by the careful transcript made for the Early English Text Society edition, and by Professor Wann's detailed description of the manuscript.⁹

Chicago: Sir William Craigie, Professor John M. Manly, and Professor James R. Hulbert. I wish also to thank Professor Carleton Brown of New York University for suggestions concerning the plan of condensation here followed.

⁵ Line references are taken from the Early English Text Society edition of Towneley, and from Miss Smith's edition of York. Where not otherwise indicated, word derivations have been taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED).

⁶ The manuscript is now in the Huntington Library at San Marino, California.

⁷ The part played by actors in corrupting texts of mystery plays was called to my attention by Sir William Craigie.

⁸ Textual irregularities fall into three classes: (1) those for which emendation is self-evident; (2) those for which emendation is probable; (3) those for which no emendation is to be recommended. To this third class, with almost universal acceptance, belong the assonances. See *N* 28-31; 33-5; 235-6; *PP* 260-3; 354, 8; *SP* 391-3; *H* 253-6; 492-4; *Csp* 28-31; *B* 55-8; *Scg* 49-51; 89-92; 94-6; 98-101; 175-7; *J* 278-81; 323-6; 345, 9; 537-9. (*SP* 42-4 *langyd* : *forgang* it : *hangyd* has not been classified as assonance because of the Northern unvoicing of *d* in weak preterites. Cf. also *SP* 678, 82 in this connection. *SP* 55-8 has not been included because it can be interpreted as intended rime in *-us*.)

⁹ Louis Wann, "A New Examination of the Manuscript of the Towneley Plays," *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 137-52.

In June 1934, I had the opportunity of examining the manuscript of the

What to regard as the authentic work of the Wakefield author has also been a problem. This difficulty has been met by using for the basis of my investigation primarily those plays or parts of plays in which his characteristic stanza and racy humor coincide.¹⁰ There are three exceptions: the *Cain*, stanza 2 of the *Crucifixion*, and stanzas 1-4 of the *Scourging*.¹¹

Although it had been my original intention to study all rime-words in those plays and parts of plays selected, it became apparent, when all rimes were tabulated, that the project would have to be narrowed. This I did by choosing for study only distinctive rimes, or rimes serving in any way to date or localize the dialect usage. Rimes of a type common to all Middle English poetry were in general disregarded. Analysis of rime between open and close *e*, which would be an essential consideration in a study of a Northern text of an earlier period, was omitted because of the lateness of the plays investigated.

It had also been my original intention to confine myself to a purely linguistic approach, but since the Wakefield author was

Towneley plays at the Huntington Library. The few points which this examination raised concerning isolated forms in no way affect the central conclusions of my dissertation.

¹⁰ Entire plays:	II	<i>Cain</i>	<i>O</i>
	III	<i>Noah</i>	<i>N</i>
	XII	<i>Prima Pastorum</i>	<i>PP</i>
	XIII	<i>Secunda Pastorum</i>	<i>SP</i>
	XVI	<i>Herod</i>	<i>H</i>
	XXI	<i>Buffeting</i>	<i>B</i>

Parts of plays:

XX	<i>Conspiracy</i>	st. 1-6	<i>Csp</i>
XXII	<i>Scourging</i>	1-27	<i>Seg</i>
XXIII	<i>Crucifixion</i>	2	<i>Crc</i>
XXIV	<i>Talents</i>	1-5;	
		56-60	<i>T</i>
XXX	<i>Judicium</i>	16-48;	
		68-76	<i>J</i>

The following stanzas in the Wakefield metre are omitted because they lack the dramatist's racy vein: XXIII 57; XXVII 4; XXIX 58. The following stanzas are in metres suggestive of the Wakefield type: XIV 100 (identical with Y XVII 27); XX 97-102; XXII 49; XXIII 55-6; XXVII 30; XXIX 15-16, 57; XXXI 7-11.

¹¹ *Cain* is generally conceded to be a Wakefield revision. *Crc* 2 and *Seg* 1-4 are identical in pattern with *C* 35.

first, last, and always, a comic artist and not a purist in rime, I was forced to substitute for the purely linguistic approach, one which included aesthetic and subjective considerations of rime-technique. In doing this, I opened the flood-gates to the inter-relations between the York and Towneley cycles. Distinctive elements of technique could be determined only by comparison with the remaining Towneley plays and, *ipso facto*, with York. In the interests of technique, I have had to study the rime-words as vocabulary in addition to studying them phonologically and inflectionally.

The results of my investigation fall under two heads: those which support certain accepted views, and those which break new ground. The data concerning date and dialectal characteristics of the Wakefield author's usage serve to verify, define, or extend what has already been concluded in these respects. New ground has been broken (1) in textual criticism,¹² (2) in determination of distinctive elements in Wakefield rime usage and technique; (3) in the comparison of Wakefield rimes with those elsewhere in Towneley and in York.

¹² Previous textual criticism of the Wakefield group is to be found in the following: Eduard Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben* . . . , (Berlin, 1867), I, 357-71; *The Towneley Plays*, EETS edition, Extra Series no. LXXI (London, 1897); E. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXI (1895), 165-66; John Matthews Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama* (Boston, 1897), Vol. I; Julius Zupitza, *Alt- und Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch* . . . , Achte verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von J. Schipper (Wien und Leipzig, 1907); Samuel B. Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays*, Yale Studies in English, no. XXXVIII (New York, 1909); Joseph Quincy Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* . . . , (Boston, 1924); F. Holt-Hausen, "Studien zu den Towneley Plays," *Englische Studien*, LVIII (1924), 161-78; Kemp Malone, "A Note on the Towneley *Secunda Pastorium*," *MLN*, XL (1925), 35-39; Kenneth Sisam, *Fourteenth Century Verse & Prose* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1921); P. E. Dustoor, "Some Textual Notes on the English Mystery Plays," *Modern Language Review*, XXI (1926), 427-31; ———, "Textual Notes on the Towneley Old Testament Plays," *Englische Studien*, LXIII (1928), 220-28. (See also n. 3, William Strunk, Jr., *op. cit.*, and Robert Withington, *op. cit.*)

Space does not permit a complete record of the textual criticism offered in the dissertation summarized in this article. The following is representative. Suggestions made by Sir William Craigie are: *PP* 50 r. *sane* vs 'bless us' for *saue* vs; *SP* 615 r. *wapyn* 'weapon' (the Norse form), for *wepyn*; *SP* 666 r. *rad* 'afraid' for *fard*; *H* 165 r. *arse* sb. for *eres*.

My conclusions regarding the dialect usage of the Wakefield playwright have been drawn from a detailed study of his rime forms and a careful comparison of these with forms occurring within the line. On the basis of Mr. Peacock's evidence and certain allusions to Wakefield or the Wakefield region in the plays under study, I assume that their author was writing plays to be performed in or near Wakefield.¹³ According to the accepted view, the dialect of the Towneley plays is primarily Northern, modified by Midland, specifically East Midland, and interspersed with some Southern. The investigation has borne out this view, and one of my large objectives has been to determine the extent and nature of the Northern and Midland elements in the work of the Wakefield playwright,¹⁴ with due consideration for the possibility of scribal alterations.¹⁵

Midland and Northern forms intermingle both within the line and in rime.¹⁶ Both within the line and in rime, the inflectional distinctions are primarily Northern.¹⁷ Midland distinctions, where-

Suggestions made by the author are: *N* 31 r. *thām* for *thaym*; *N* 238 r. *drys me* for *dres me*; *PP* 206 r. *togider* for *togeder*; *SP* 99 r. *levys* 'lives' for *lyffys*; *SP* 229 r. *deyle* 'devil' for *dewyll*; *H* 306 r. *ay whore*, *syrs* for *ay where*, *syrs*; *H* 512 r. *deyle* 'devil' for *dewyll*; *B* 337 r. *Sir*, *sytt ye and see it* for *Sir*, *see ye and sytt*; *J* 600 r. *mewe you* for *mefe you*.

¹³ Matthew H. Peacock, "The Wakefield Mysteries. The Place of Representation," *Anglia*, XXIV (1901-4), 509-24; ———, Correspondence in *The [London] Times Literary Supplement*, Thursday, March 5, 1925, p. 156; Thursday, June 7, 1928, p. 431.

¹⁴ The extent of Southern forms in rime has been noted in previous scholarship. See *SP* st. 23-24, Mak's impersonation of a Southern yeoman.

¹⁵ Modern dialect forms, wherever cited for comparison with Wakefield ones, have been drawn largely from Southwestern Yorkshire.

¹⁶ Under the general caption "Northern" are included characteristics shared in common by Northern and Northeast Midland.

¹⁷ The infinitive is customarily without an inflectional ending, both for OE monosyllables in *-n* and for words originally of two or more syllables.

The Northern prs. ppl. in *-and* occurs more frequently than the Midland form in *-yng* within the line. The number of rimes employing the form in *-and* is slightly in the majority. Cf. *C* 104, 6; 391, 3; *N* 73-6; 118-21; 492-4; *SP* 109-12; 350-3; 404-8; *H* 262-5; 289-92; *Csp* 1-4; *Scg* 89-92; *J* 256-8; 595-8 vs. *N* 496-9; *PP* 28-31; 78-80; 381, 5; 476-9; 489, 93; *H* 10-13; 456-8; *B* 10-13; 150-2; *Scg* 15 . . . ; 71-4.

Both within the line and in rime, the present 3rd singular indicative ends regularly in Northern *-ys*, *-es*, *-s* (e. Note also within the line the

ever found, are predominantly phonological,¹⁸ or else comprise synonymous equivalents of more typically Northern forms.¹⁹ Both within the line and in rime, the Midland phonological distinction

following examples of *bese* beside customary *is*: *C* 250, 370; *N* 373; *PP* 74; *H* 507; *Scg* 217; *J* 200.

The present 1st s. indicative obeys, within the line, the Northern rule of ending in *-ys* when the personal pronoun as subject is separated from the verb by some intervening word or words. See *C* 46; *H* 406.

The present 2nd s. indicative ends customarily in *-y(s)*. Cf. also the following example of *bese*, *C* 296. See also the ending *-y(s)* in rime: *N* 430; *PP* 273; *SP* 222; *H* 334.

All persons of the present plural within the line have their ending usually determined according to the Northern rule that when a personal pronoun as subject immediately precedes its verb, the latter takes *e*, or else no ending. When the pronoun is separated from its verb, or when the subject of the verb is an ordinary noun, the present plural of verbs ends usually in *-ys*, as: *PP* 58; *SP* 10, 134; *H* 506 etc. In rime, the number of exceptions to the rule is proportionately greater. Cf. *SP* 126, 156, 512; *H* 40, 45, 61; *B* 84; *J* 360, 362, vs. *PP* 57; *SP* 137, 312; *B* 448; *Cro* 14. Note also, *N* 10 *is* pl. = [es].

Within the line, imperative plurals in *-ys* slightly outnumber those without ending: *C* 26; *SP* 290, 484; *H* 33, 194, 204; (*bese* *H* 511; *T* 376), vs. *N* 398; *PP* 393, 450; *H* 462; *Csp* 8. In rime, the customary ending of the imperative plural is Northern *-ys*: *PP* 282; *SP* 362; 507; *B* 66, 196; *J* 141.

The general Northern tendency in strong verbs to level both singular and plural preterite forms under the singular prevails both within the line and in rime.

The past participle of strong verbs regularly takes the ending *-en*, *-yn*, both within the line and in rime. Exceptions: *C* 61; *J* 115. For *find* and *bind*, the contracted forms *fon* and *bon* customarily occur in rime. See *N* 503; *SP* 78, 80; 751, 153; *B* 388, 390; *J* 278. Exception: *PP* 143 *fownde*.

For most nouns the customary plural, both within the line and in rime, is Northern *-ys*, though examples in *-es* occur.

The following pronominal forms used consistently within the line are Northern: *thay*, *thei*; *thare*; *tha(y)m*, *the(y)m*, *thame*. *She*, which is also customary, is primarily North Midland. In rime occur *tha(y)m*, *the(y)m*: *N* 31; *H* 424 etc. *She* never occurs in rime; but there is one example of *sho*: *SP* 235.

Within the line, the uninflected and inflected genitive occur in alternation.

¹⁸ For instance: uniform use within the line of *shuld*, *not*, *ther(e)*, *wher(e)*; almost uniform use of *which*, *sich*, *sych*; preference for *shall* and for *-th-* in *brother*, *other*.

¹⁹ For instance: within the line, *few* but not Northern *fone* 'few' (*J* 198, 369); in rime, *fone* but not *few* (*N* 99; *SP* 281).

most repeatedly used is $\bar{o}$ in forms retaining $\check{a}$ ²⁰ in Northern usage.²¹

Midland distinctions involving synonymous equivalents occur primarily within the line. In rime, the Wakefield author's vocabulary is strongly Northern, containing many terms of Scandinavian origin,²² and preference for Norman rather than Central French forms in words of French origin.²³

Comparison between rime forms and those within the line points to the conclusion that a percentage of Midland forms, both within

²⁰ It has been pointed out to me by Sir William Craigie that in the North, where a was retained, there is no proof that lengthening of a before $-ld$ and $-ng$ ever took place.

²¹ In rime, see: *O* 5-8; 146-7; *N* 60-2; 91-4; 114-16; 266, 70; 415-18; 487-90; *PP* 118-21; 156, 60; 337-9; 359-62; 377-80; 382-4; *SP* 1-4; 222-4; 413-16; 427-9; 440-3; *H* 19-22; 73-6; 136-9; 334-7; 420-2; 438-40; *B* 280-3; 343-6; 420-2; *Scg* 1 . . . ; 166-8; 210, 14; *T* 390, 4; *J* 179-82; 278-81; 332-5; 591-3 etc.

²² The following are representative of rime-words primarily Northern:

nouns *SP* 393 *barnes* 'children'; *SP* 142 *bent* 'grassy plain'
N 126 *brede* 'breadth'; *O* 47, *SP* 305 *hek* 'feed-rack, hatch'
N 101 *rerd* 'loud uproar'; *SP* 306 *snek* 'latch of door'
SP 518 *stott* 'young castrated ox'; *J* 315 *stowke* 'shock of grain'
H 235 *trant* 'stratagem'; *Scg* 133 *hoyne* 'delay'

(Nouns of Norse origin)

N 66 *fry* 'offspring'; *J* 112 *gere* 'implements, equipment'
SP 192 *harnes* 'brains'; *O* 100 *hend* 'hands'
SP 360 *skyn* 'skin'; *H* 104 *wonys* 'dwellings'
verbs *H* 360 *ban* 'curse' (a sense which first appears in the North and is probably from ON)
PP 254 *gart* = *gar it* 'make it'; *N* 360 *carp* 'talk, tell' (a sense chiefly found in Nth poetry and prob. adapted from ON)
PP 234 *roys* 'praise'; *N* 441 *tyne* 'lose'
N 314 *dedir* 'quake' (Midland and Southern *dither*)
J 352 *grewys* 'turns to horror'; *J* 152 *kynke* 'pant'
Scg 250 *skelp* 'strike a blow with the hand'
adj. *N* 308 *bayn* 'ready'; *H* 13 *bowne* p. p. as a. 'prepared'
N 413 *blo* 'livid'; *N* 99 *fone* 'few'
J 125 *tome* 'empty'; *N* 186 *tethee* (Rec. *OED* as now *Sc.* and Nth dial.)
adv. *N* 146 *abone* 'above'; *O* 222 *bedeyn*
J 532 *hyne* 'hence'; *PP* 149 *tyte* 'quickly'

²³ For example: *N* 446 *lele* 'loyal'; *H* 263 *warand* v.; *Scg* 258 *reme* 'realm'; *H* 15 *lewte* 'loyalty.'

the line and in rime, is probably scribal.²⁴ Unfortunately, the presence of intentional Midland rimes in the work of the Wakefield author places an obstacle in the way of determining the extent of scribal corruption.²⁵

Just as my findings have verified and defined the accepted classification of the Wakefield author's dialect, they have supported the most generally recognized theory concerning the approximate date of his contributions. The *terminus a quo* should not, for phonological reasons alone,²⁶ be placed earlier than the first quarter of the 15th century. There are, moreover, the following significant stylistic reasons why the material in the distinctive Wakefield stanza and manner should not be placed earlier. The dramatist's

²⁴ Within the line, the following forms are probably scribal: *mych*, *which*, *sich* or *sych*, *long*, *longer*. *Mych*, *which*, and *longer* never occur in rime, but *mekyll*, *whilke*, and *langer* do (See *Scg* 96; *J* 325; *H* 117). *Sich* occurs only once in rime, namely, in Mak's speech impersonating a Southern yeoman; elsewhere occur *slyke*, *swilke* (See *N* 233; *PP* 94; *J* 368). Though *long* occurs beside *lang* in rime, it is always in rime easily convertible to *-ang*. In view, therefore, of a general preference for retention of *-ang* in words of the same type, *long* is probably scribal.

²⁵ See n. 21.

²⁶ a. The Northern distinction between $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{e}$ has been lost.

b. The inflectional vowel of noun and verb suffixes has apparently been lost: *C* 340-1; *PP* 386-9; *SP* 244-7; *B* 226-9 etc.

c. OF *u* rimes with $\bar{o}$ in seven instances: *N* 280-3; *PP* 233-6; *SP* 127-30; *B* 33-5; 244-7; *J* 220-2; 355-7.

d. The number of rimes between $\bar{o} < \bar{a}$ and original *o* forms would be unusually large for the Northern dialect of an earlier period. See n. 21. According to Miss Baumann, Yorkshire documents retained $\bar{a}$ till about 1425, after which period the encroachment of Midland $\bar{o}$ equivalents became increasingly marked. (Ida Baumann, *Die Sprache der Urkunden aus Yorkshire im 15 Jahrhundert*, *Anglistische Forschungen*, XI [Heidelberg, 1902], p. 38.)

e. The guttural *gh* occurs in rime with *f*: *SP* 283-5; *T* 395-8.

f. Final $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{y}$ have fallen together. There are many examples. Typical are: *N* 19-22; *SP* 643-5; *Scg* 22, 6; *T* 405, 7.

g. Final *-ūs* and *-ūn* of French adjectives and nouns rime primarily with *-ūs* and *-ūn*: *N* 163-6; *SP* 55-8; *H* 217-20; and *N* 501-3; *PP* 355-7; *SP* 78-80; *J* 206-9; 577-80. *SP* 244-7 is the only ex. of French *-ūs* in rime with *-ūs*. French *-ūn* in *renowne* and *crowne* rimes regularly with *-ūn*.

h. There are a number of polysyllabic French words in identical rime: *N* 55-8; *SP* 33-5; *H* 271-4; *B* 37-40; *Scg* 10-12; *J* 251-4 etc.

highly inconsistent and facultative treatment of French words in rime would be permissible only at such an advanced stage of anglicizing that accent and vowel quality had become extremely variable factors in pronunciation.²⁷ The noticeably low standard of purity in rimes suggests a period in which the elevation of East Midland to the standard for English usage was lessening the prestige of the other three Middle English dialects.²⁸ The complexity of the Wakefield author's technique in rime, revealed especially in his extensive use of doublets,²⁹ points to a late and synthetic stage in the development of mystery play writing, the culmination of successive revisions.³⁰

Thus far, the results of this investigation have contributed little beyond demonstration in detail of conclusions already generally accepted. At this point, however, the investigation extends into unexploited fields: determination of distinctive elements in Wakefield rime technique; detailed comparison of Wakefield rimes with those elsewhere in Towneley and in York; detailed

²⁷ Note the following alternative rimings of certain French words: (The accent marks are my own to indicate the riming syllable.)

B

B 288/*N* 319 *déver* 'duty' / *devére*

T 373/*H* 358 *húllars* 'whorers' / *holárd*

B 112/*PP* 375 *stábyll* / *stabýll*

SP 502; *J* 196/*N* 501 *réson* 'reason' / *resón*

(The following illustrate alternative vowel quality in a given word.)

T 387/*N* 156 *catell* *r. w.* *ě* / *catayll* *r. w.* *ai*

C 355/*J* 580 *malison* *r. w.* *-ün* / *malison* *r. w.* *ŭn*

SP 244/*N* 165; *H* 219 *gracyus* *r. w.* *-üs* / *gracyus* *r. w.* *-üs*

N 309/*N* 119; 468; *PP* 479/*H* 255 *ordayn* *r. w.* *ai* / *ordan* *r. w.* *ă* / *ordeyn* *r. w.* *ě*

N 157/*SP* 275/*H* 196; *Scg* 103; *J* 370 *counsayll* *r. w.* *ai* / *r. w.* *ē* / *r. w.* *ě*

²⁸ It should also be kept in mind, of course, that the Wakefield author's vein is comic, and that a percentage of his rimes may have been advisedly approximate to enhance comic effect.

²⁹ See note 34.

³⁰ It is also worth noting that certain similarities in rime technique which exist between the Wakefield group in Towneley and certain York plays may come to have a demonstrable bearing upon the date of the dramatist's contribution. See n. 56.

comparison with rimes of the *Turnament of Totenham*; ³¹ the bearing upon the comparison with York and Towneley, of the general relationship between the York and Towneley manuscripts in respect to dialect forms.

Because the Wakefield contributions are imbedded in the Towneley cycle, and because this cycle is demonstrably interrelated with York, I have chosen as distinctive those types of Wakefield rime which occur neither in the remaining Towneley plays nor in York. That is to say, my concern has been with what distinguishes the Wakefield author's work from that work with which it is most intimately bound up in a purely circumstantial way. Distinctive elements in Wakefield rime may be summed up as follows: (1) full exploitation, for realistic effects, of colloquial and provincial words and of concrete terms in general ME use but not conventionally regarded as poetic vocabulary; ³² (2) use of

³¹ In the dissertation upon which this article is based, the comparison involving the *Turnament* is treated very incidentally in the Appendix. It will be given disproportionate prominence here because of controversy raised by Professor Cargill's article on the authorship of the *Secunda Pastorum*. See nn. 35, 36, 37.

³² These contribute to the variety of the playwright's vocabulary and illustrate how the effectiveness of his work is often due to his skill in seeing possibilities for rime in words that have realistic, but not poetic, value.

- a. Unusual forms, presumably either nonce words, or words given distinctive meanings:

J 561 *pransawte* 'prancing' *J* 559 *skāwte* (meaning uncertain)
J 580 *vowgard* (sense obscure) *PP* 244 *wynk* v. 'to give the tip'
PP 232 *mangyng* 'banquet' (OED records only *mangeryng*, which is referred to list of spurious words.)

- b. Words used in a transferred sense:

SP 391 *tharmes* 'entrails' app. used as 'bellies' = 'children'
J 337 *lawvell* 'wrangling or wrangler' app. transferred use of *javel* 'jaw'
J 338 *lawvell* app. transferred use of *lavel* 'palate'; cf. s. v. *lavel* in James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps' dictionary.

- c. Concrete terms for humorous and realistic purpose:

<i>N</i> 376 <i>mydyng</i> 'dunghill'	<i>PP</i> 152 <i>sowll</i> 'any liquid that is drunk'
389 <i>coyll</i> 'pottage'	423 <i>pose</i> 'catarrh'
<i>SP</i> 216 <i>torde</i> 'dung'	<i>J</i> 109 <i>stumpe</i> 'leg'
166 <i>stomake</i> 'stomach'	110 <i>crumpe</i> 'cramp'
<i>B</i> 405 <i>cowll</i> 'welt'	316 <i>bowke</i> 'belly, trunk'

certain types of rime; ³³ (3) extensive use of dual elements in rime technique.³⁴

d. Terms colloquial or provincial:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>N</i> 314 <i>dedir</i> 'quake' | <i>SP</i> 103 <i>wett hyr whystyll</i> 'drunk beer' |
| 323 <i>skelp</i> 'blow' | 543 <i>hatters</i> interj. |
| <i>PP</i> 22 <i>cod</i> 'pillow' | |
| 113, 17 <i>tyr, whyr</i> interj. | |

(Cf. also *SP* 476 *croyne* v. This form is generally assumed to mean 'sing.' Dr. Willan, however, in 1811 recorded for West Riding of Yorkshire the verb *croon* 'to make a noise like a bull'; and the verbal sb. *crooning* 'the noise of a disquiet bull.' This interpretation both suits the meaning of the passage and increases the fun.)

(Cf. also *N* 371 *byr* sb. This word is usually interpreted 'rush.' John Hutton's glossary in 1781, however, records for West Riding the noun *bere* sb. 'the distance one runs in order to leap.' The rime needs *bere*. Moreover, this specialized meaning would increase the humor of the passage.)

³³ Certain types of artificial rime:

1. suf. *-ar* r. w. monosylls. in *-ar*: *PP* 91-4; *SP* 244-7; *H* 163-6; *B* 208-11; *Scg* 130-2
2. orig. *-el* in *catell, castell* r. w. *-ail*: *N* 156, 272
3. *vertus* 'virtues' " " *-üs*: *Csp* 39
4. *lakan* 'plaything' " " *-än*: *SP* 242
5. *chambre* sb. pl. " " *ō* and Fr. *u*: *N* 281
6. *fathom* sb. " " *-üm*: *N* 521
7. *lurdan* sb. " " *-ain*: *H* 490

Certain rimes of diphthong with simple vowel:

1. *ew*: *ō* when final: *N* 505-8
2. OF *oi, ui*: *ō* bef. *-n*: *PP* 229-31; 431-4; *H* 379-82

Also:

1. Fr. *u*: *ō* bef. *-d, -s*: *PP* 233-6; *SP* 127-30; *B* 33-5; 244-7

³⁴ The following list of dual elements has been limited to those which occur within the same play. They may be classified under two main heads:

- (1) doublets,
- (2) alternative pronunciations of a single rime-word.

Use of doublets and license in riming of a single rime-word within the same play is to be found elsewhere in extant mystery plays, but nowhere does it seem to be the result of conscious craftsmanship as in the work of the Wakefield author.

Because of the multitude of synonymous doublets within single plays, the list given below has been limited to phonological and inflectional doublets.

(1) *Doublets*

- C* 229/334 [es]/is
10/380 *forbede/bid* 'order'

Comparison of Wakefield rimes with those in the *Turnament of Totenham* reveals that the *Turnament* lacks the most distinctive elements of Wakefield rime technique,³⁵ and that the similiar-

<i>N</i>	247/400	amang/emong	<i>r. w. ũ</i>	10/1	[es]/is
	192/445	be p. p./beyn		238/507	lo int./lew
	83/146	abuf/abone		34/211	hend/handys 'hands'
	298/324	dame <i>r. w. ā/r. w. ǣ</i>		142/528	Came <i>r. w. ā/r. w. ǣ</i>
	119/309	ordan/ordayn			
<i>PP</i>	64/352	were pret./wore		65/132	here 'hair'/hore
	2/281	(downe)cast/kest		82/388	thou/ye
	191/316	then/than		131/213/303	before/afore/beforne
	216/274	sowe sb./sogh		353/366	bene inf./be
	376/431	done p. p. <i>r. w. ȝ/r. w. ũ</i>		428/433	ryn inf./ron
<i>SP</i>	207/cust.	ich/I		210/308	hang tr. infin./hyng intr.
	187/489	hye a./he(e)		30/360	mays/makys 'makes'
	20/595	fest p. p. as a./fast		66/270	then/than
	246/289	nar adv./nere		401/692	before/beforne
	508/574	thore/there		108/451	lost p. p./lorne
	367/632	nawre 'nowhere'/ay whore		365/512	thou/ye
	153/173/424	had <i>r. w. ā/r. w. ǣ/r. w. ai</i>			
<i>H</i>	62/300	beyis/is		317/452	before/beforne
	22/288	sayn 1st s./say		256/485	chyldren/chyldes
	23/182	trast inf./tryst		337/471	nose 'nose'/nese
	264/457	ppl. in -and-/yng			
<i>B</i>	201/282	halð/hold		6/310	more/mare 'more'
	344/367	wote 'knows'/wate		199/268	ded 'death'/deth
	261/303	chyde/chyte			
<i>J</i>	136/187	dal 'fist'/[doll]		134/532	hence/hyne
	182/544	wore pret./ware		268/539	deyle/devill

(2) License in use of a single rime-word

SP 432/538 credýll 'cradle'/crédyll

H 196/510 counsell *r. w. ẽ/r. w. ẽ*

Perh. *B* 140/167 fature *r. on last syll. ʔ/r. on root*

³⁵ i. e. (1) Use of doublets (See n. 34).

(2) " " certain types of artificial rime (See n. 33).

(3) " " " rime forms:

<i>TT</i>	<i>W</i>
yede pret. 'went'	yode (<i>SP</i> 183, 503; <i>B</i> 312; <i>J</i> 551)
brest 'burst'	brast/bryst (<i>N</i> 264; <i>H</i> 118, 148; <i>J</i> 96/ <i>SP</i> 629; <i>B</i> 191; <i>Scg</i> 135)
contray <i>r. w. ai</i>	contre <i>r. w. ẽ</i> or <i>ȝ</i> (<i>N</i> 487; <i>Scg</i> 28)

(These differences are uniformly maintained.)

ties which do exist are merely those of two writers of about the same period, whose dialects are much the same, and who share a common heritage of proverbial and conventional phrases.³⁶ These facts render untenable Mr. Cargill's theory of a common authorship.³⁷

Detailed comparison of Wakefield rimes with those elsewhere in Towneley and in York has raised some interesting questions. The Wakefield rimes which form the basis of comparison have been classified as follows:

³⁶ For example:

- (1) rime of *-ght* : *-ft* (*SP* 283-5; *T* 395-8)
- (2) " showing preservation of final guttural spirant after *o* (*N* 532-5; *PP* 274-6; *SP* 381, 5)
- (3) " between *ē* : *ȳ* in final position (See n. 26, f.)
- (4) " in *-ang* (*C* 75; *N* 244; *PP* 305; *SP* 208; *H* 77 etc.)

³⁷ In 1926, Professor Cargill published an article on the *Secunda Pastorum* in which he advanced the ingenious theory that Gilbert Pilkington was the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*. (See "The Authorship of the *Secunda Pastorum*," *PMLA*, XLI [1926], 810-31.) He arrived at this conclusion by a series of corollaries. On the basis of the name Gilbert Pilkington in the colophon of the Cambridge MS. of the *Northern Passion*, he attributed the *Passion* to Gilbert Pilkington. Because the *Turnament of Totenham* also appears in the same MS., uses similar alliterative verse, and shows "antagonism to romance materials," Professor Cargill was inclined to attribute it likewise to Gilbert Pilkington. Then, having pointed out interesting similarities between the *Turnament* and the *Secunda Pastorum* in stanzaic structure, satiric spirit, and dialect usage, he advanced a theory that Gilbert Pilkington was the author of the *Secunda Pastorum*.

In 1928, Miss Foster showed that positive evidence is insufficient to claim Gilbert Pilkington as the author of the *Northern Passion*, but she accepted Mr. Cargill's conclusion that the *Turnament* and the *Secunda Pastorum* show striking similarities in humor and characterization as well as similarities in dialect. (See "Was Gilbert Pilkington Author of the *Secunda Pastorum*?" *PMLA*, XLIII [1928], 124-36.)

In 1930, Miss Carey rejected the theory of identity of authorship of the *Turnament* and the *Secunda Pastorum* on the basis of differences in stanzaic structure and alliteration, style, and tone. (See *op. cit.*, pp. 234-36.)

In 1932, Professor Frampton disproved Professor Cargill's contention that Gilbert Pilkington wrote the *Turnament*, and hence the *Secunda Pastorum*. He regarded the common authorship of the two poems as at best very doubtful. (See "Gilbert Pilkington Once More," *PMLA*, XLVII [1932], 622-35.)

- (1) Those occurring only once elsewhere in Towneley
- (2) " " " twice " " "
- (3) " " three or more times elsewhere in Towneley
- (4) " not occurring in Towneley which appear in York

Within each of the first three groups, the material has been further subdivided into rimes which do not occur in York and those which do. The first three categories relate to the question of further attributions to the pen of the Wakefield author. The last category concerns the problem, first seriously stressed by Professor Gayley,³⁸ of interrelation between the work of the Wakefield dramatist and certain York plays.

Although in previous attributions to the Wakefield author his characteristic stanza has been the principal touchstone, one or more scholars have regarded as principally his work, XXIII and XXIV,³⁹ and scholars in general have agreed to include the *Cain* in his canon.⁴⁰ Each of these plays contains one or more stanzas in the Wakefield metre, or one closely approximating it. The metres of these plays become significant, therefore, as forms with which the Wakefield author could have been conversant.

If distinctive parallels between Wakefield usage and that elsewhere in Towneley were few in number, they might be explained as coincidence. Since there are a number of such parallels, and they frequently occur under circumstances favorable to a supposition of Wakefield authorship, they present a problem in causal relationship. They raise the following questions: (1) Do the parallels go back to a common source? (2) Has the Wakefield author merely imitated a rime which already existed in the Towneley cycle? (3) Did the Wakefield author adapt a passage containing the rime? (4) Did the Wakefield author himself contribute the rime in the pro-

³⁸ Charles Mills Gayley, *Representative English Comedies* . . . (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1916), reprint, I, xxvi-xxviii; ———, "The Later Miracle Plays of England," *The International Quarterly*, XII (1905-06), 67-88; ———, *Plays of Our Forefathers* . . . New York, Duffield & Co., 1907), pp. 161 ff.

³⁹ For example, Frank W. Cady, "The Wakefield Group in Towneley," *JEGP*, XI (1912), 244-62; Louis Wann, "The Influence of French Farce on the Towneley Cycle of Mystery Plays," *Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters Transactions*, XIX (1917-18), 356-68. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies* . . . , Intro. xxviii.

⁴⁰ Marie C. Lyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

cess of revising the play in which it occurs? Clearly, the parallels to Wakefield usage must be studied in the light of the source-history, and preferably also in the light of the manuscript history, of the passages in which they occur, before definitive conclusions may be given.

Of the rimes which occur once elsewhere in Towneley but not in York,⁴¹ the majority appear in XXIII, a play already linked with the work of the Wakefield author.⁴² Several others occur in three of the five Towneley plays with long passages nearly identical to the corresponding York plays;⁴³ still others in plays containing stanzas in the Wakefield metre or one closely approximating it;⁴⁴ and a minority in certain other plays.⁴⁵

⁴¹ The parallels cited are meant to be representative, not exhaustive.

⁴² *Types of rime:*

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) Fr. nouns in -all r. w. -all | J 134-7/XXIII 197-8 |
| (2) $\bar{o} : \bar{o}$ in <i>foyte</i> 'foot' | N 262-5; 366-8/XXIII 182-3 |
| (3) <i>a : au</i> in <i>sauill</i> 'soul' | PP 77, 81/ " 589, 92 |
| | H 406-9; 474-6; <i>Scg</i> 229-31; J 134-7 / |
| (4) Artificial use of pl. -es | H 485 / " 492-3 |

Types of rime-word:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>pull</i> v. | C 311/XXIII 145 |
| <i>croke</i> | H 233/" 87 |
| <i>pant</i> v. | H 238/" 52 |
| <i>expown</i> | N 440/" 532 |
| <i>nately</i> | SP 158/cf. " 62 (<i>nate</i> v.) |

Types of rime phrase:

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>saunce fayll</i> | PP 112; H 404/XXIII 302 |
| allusion to jousting | J 138/" 92 |

⁴³ *Types of rime-word:*

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>garray</i> sb. | SP 564/VIII 377 |
| <i>crak</i> r. w. <i>shak</i> | H 498/9 XXV 209, 11 |

Types of rime phrase:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>perels all</i> | C 299; cf. H 136/VIII 385 |
| <i>halden still thi clater</i> | B 27/XXVI 145 |
| <i>so is youre wyttys thyn</i> | PP 171/cf. XXV 91 |

⁴⁴ *Types of rime:*

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| (1) Rime in -ars | C 44-5; 287-8; PP 91-4; H 163-6/XX 693, 5 |
| (2) Artificial use of suf. -yn | H 82-5/ " 480, 2 |
| (3) Local ref. | C 367; PP 244; SP 353; 403; 455/XXIV 155 |
| | H 47; J 126/ |

Types of rime-word:

<i>croyne</i> v.	SP 476/cf. XXIV 67 (<i>croyning</i>)
<i>verament</i>	N 6/XXVII 334
<i>dyke</i> sb.	PP 93/XXXI 146

Types of Wakefield rime which occur in York as well as once elsewhere in Towneley appear, with one exception,⁴⁶ in the plays already cited for rare parallels which do not occur in York.⁴⁷

Types of rime phrase: Allusion to mass singing *H* 206; *B* 159/XXXI 159-62.

⁴⁵ *Types of rime:*

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>prophete</i> sb. r. w. -it | <i>B</i> 110/XIX 105 |
| (2) <i>gracyus</i> a. r. w. -ūs | <i>SP</i> 244/X 77 |
| (3) Shortened pret. of verbs in -ow | <i>N</i> 56 <i>alod</i> /cf. XIX 221 [<i>trod</i>] |

Types of rime-word:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>yong</i> | <i>N</i> 397; <i>H</i> 491/VII 76 |
| <i>harnes</i> 'brains' | <i>SP</i> 392/XIV 301 |
| <i>spar</i> v. 'shut, fasten' | <i>N</i> 128/XXV 146 |
| <i>od</i> a. | <i>N</i> 57/XIX 219 |

Types of rime phrase:

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>hed mas penny</i> | <i>SP</i> 252; cf. <i>N</i> 390/IX 191 |
|----------------------|--|

⁴⁶ *SP* 142/XXIX 398/Y XXVI 228 bent 'grassy plain.' (Towneley XXIX, st. 58 is in the Wakefield metre.)

⁴⁷ Two citations involve Towneley XXIII:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| (1) monosylls. in -ope | <i>H</i> 262-5/XXIII 173-4/Y XXVI 197 . . . |
| (2) rime-word <i>dote</i> v. | <i>N</i> 367; <i>T</i> 394/XXIII 183/Y XXXI 379 . . . |

The following citations are from those Towneley plays with long passages nearly identical to the corresponding York texts.

Types of rime:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| (1) Suf. -er. r. w. -ir | <i>SP</i> 163-6; <i>J</i> 206-9/XXX 69-72/cf. Y XIII 267, 9 |
| (2) Rime in -awne | <i>J</i> 121-3; 202-4; 246, 50; 559-62/ VIII 9 . . . = Y XI 9 . . . |
| (3) Rime in -ence | <i>SP</i> 204-6/XVIII 150, 2/Y XI 345, 7 |

Types of rime-word:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>nerehand(e)</i> | <i>SP</i> 11; <i>H</i> 462; <i>J</i> 191; 257/XXVI 80/Y XVII 65 |
| <i>fature</i> | <i>B</i> 140; 167/XXVI 143/Y XXIX 232; XXXII 250 |
| <i>rowte</i> 'crowd' in spec. const. w. demonstrative adjective | <i>H</i> 309; <i>J</i> 540/XXV 141/Y XXXII 5 |

Types of rime phrase: *ylla-hayll* *B* 375/VIII 258 = Y XI 245

The following citations are from plays containing stanzas in the Wakefield metre or one closely approximating it.

Types of rime:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) Rime in -anger | <i>PP</i> 201, 5; <i>H</i> 113, 17; <i>B</i> 104, 8; <i>J</i> 608, 12 etc./XX 656, 8/Y XXXII 373, 5; XXXIII 421, 3 |
| (2) Rime in -owch | <i>J</i> 568-71/XXXI 135-7/Y XXX 133, 5 |
| (3) $\bar{o} < \bar{a}$: orig. <i>o</i> bef. -s | <i>SP</i> 413-16; <i>B</i> 195, 7; <i>Scg</i> 224-7 etc./XXIV 105-7/Y XXX 430, 2 |

Similarly, a majority of the Wakefield types appearing twice elsewhere in Towneley occur in plays already cited for rimes occurring once elsewhere in Towneley.⁴⁸

If the Wakefield types occurring three or more times elsewhere in Towneley did not represent a similar situation, they would be of no value as evidence; but in view of the fact that much the same

Types of rime-word:

- gay a. B 73/XXXI 127/Y XXXI 273
 threpe v. SP 168/XXIV 317/cf. Y XXVI 256; XL 105
 brall PP 280; H 31, 57/XX 571/Y XXXIII 17
 pak sb. SP 330; 424/XIV 34/Y XIII 303

The following rime phrase is from Towneley IX, a play already cited:

Of runkers and rowners J 298/cf. IX 118/cf. Y VII 48

⁴⁸ The following do not occur in York:

Types of rime:

- (1) *ai* : *ā* bef. -*d* N 280-3; B 24-6 etc./IV 97 . . . ; 201 . . .
- (2) *ai* : *ā* final in Lat. word PP 346-8/J 382-4/XIV 157 . . . ; 445 . . .
- (3) *ist* 'is it' r. w. -*ist* N 517/XIX 69; 212
- (4) Rime in -*owth* N 473, 7/XXIII 373-4; XXVIII, 21, 4

Types of rime-word: appech v.—C 85 B 64/XIX 144; 239

indoost p. p. B 421/XIX 48; XXVI 33

fon v. PP 393/XXIII 526; cf. X 353

Types of rime-phrase: twenty dwill way C 439/XIV 465; XX 200

The following parallels occurring twice elsewhere in Towneley also occur in York:

Types of rime:

- (1) Fr. words in -*age* H 244-7; J 228, 32; 273, 7/IX 195, 8; XXVI, 608, 10/Y XXXIII 122 . . .
- (2) Rime in -*under* C 154-5; N 406-9 etc./XXIII 419, 23; XXXI 132, 4/Y XXXIII 90 . . . ; XXXV 130, 2.
- (3) Rime in -*ance* C 401 . . . ; N 55-8 etc./XXIV 56-8; XXVIII 144-7/Y VII 100, 3; XXX 289, 91
- (4) Rime in -*ard* SP 287-90; 647-50 etc./XIX 218 . . . ; XXVI 553, 5=Y XXXVIII 428, 30

Types of rime-word:

trus v. Scg 213; J 293/VII 152; XXX 618/Y IX 110, 281; XXXIII 72 etc.

handys sb. N 211; Scg 164/XXIII 457; XXIX 137/Y XXX 219 etc.

trace sb. Scg 200/XX 651; XXII 412/Y XVI 48; XVII 206 etc.

Types of rime-phrase:

in the wenyand SP 405/XX 748; XXVI 144/Y VII 45; XVI 37

blaw a bost(e) H 39; J 560/VIII 16; XXVI 32/Y XXVI 169; XXX 224.

situation holds for them, they lend correlative support to a theory of Wakefield contribution to the plays involved.⁴⁹

An examination of the citations made in the footnotes will reveal two significant points.⁵⁰ A number of the parallels come from plays XX, XXIII, XXIV, especially XXIII, of the Towneley Passion Group in which the Wakefield author so obviously had a hand. Some scholars have been inclined to attribute to this dramatist the Tortor scenes of XXIII and XXIV, despite the absence of his distinctive metre.⁵¹ There seems little doubt, therefore, that the distinctive parallels in question are traceable to Wakefield editorial contribution. In the second place, those Towneley plays with texts largely duplicated in York either give major evidence of Wakefield contribution, as in XXII and XXX,⁵² or suggest circumstantially some contact with the pen of the Wakefield playwright as in VIII, XXV, and XXVI,⁵³ and probably XVIII.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Of these rimes I shall give only the most interesting, all of which occur in York as well as in Towneley.

Types of rime-word:

pall sb. *J* 308/XX 613; XXVIII 334; XXXI 137/Y XXXII 25 etc.
skorn (e *PP* 85 etc./XIV 313; XX 82; XXIV 268/ex. Y XI 259
 (= T VIII 270); XXVIII 224, etc.

Types of rime: Fem. rime formed by two monosylls.

N 339-41; 379-82; *PP* 50, 4; *SP* 149, 53; *H* 77, 81; 424-7; *B* 32, 6; 163-6; 195-7; 217-20; *J* 157-9; 170-3; 210, 14 etc./Y XXIX 141, 3; 220, 2; XXX 33, 6; 60, 3; XXXI 145, 9; XXXII 41 . . . ; 76, 8; XXXIII 49, 51; 85-7 etc.

(By far the most examples of this type of feminine rime in the work of the Wakefield playwright come from *Buffeting* (XXI) of the Passion Group. In York much of this type of rime also occurs in the Passion Group. Evidence in favor of causal relationship is thus strengthened. See n. 56.)

⁵⁰ A much fuller consideration of the rimes cited has been given in my dissertation, Chap. xii.

⁵¹ See also n. 39.

⁵² Both these plays contain long passages ascribed to the Wakefield playwright, aside from the parallels I have already cited from the non-Wakefield portions of these plays. See esp. n. 48.

⁵³ See esp. nn. 47 and 48. Mr. Chester Curtiss has recently made a close comparison between T XXV and Y XXXVII. ("The York and Towneley Plays on the Harrowing of Hell," *Studies in Philology*, XXX [1933], 24-33.) He believes that Davidson's list of dialectal changes in Towneley

We turn now to a consideration of Wakefield rimes which do not appear elsewhere in Towneley but occur in York. A glance at the citations given in the notes reveals that the York plays most frequently cited for distinctive parallels to Wakefield usage are XXIX-XXXIII, especially XXX and XXXIII, of the Passion Group.

These plays differ from the remaining plays of the group in frequent use of feminine rime achieved by any or all of the following methods:

- (1) Use of dissyllabics riming on their root syllable
- (2) Dissyllabics in rime with two monosyllables
- (3) Two words riming with two others of identical sound, the first word bearing stress, as *meke you : beseke you*.⁵⁵

XXV indicates that the dramatist "desired to make his play as full of localisms as possible." He concludes that "The raciness of the humor and the better characterization in T 25 point to a revision by one whose desire was to achieve dramatic effectiveness rather than to stress the didactic office of the play." (*Ibid.*, pp. 29, 33.) The above evidence points strongly to a conclusion that the distinctive parallels cited from VIII, XXV, XXVI are to be attributed to the agency of the Wakefield author.

⁵⁴ For the citation from XVIII, see n. 47. It comes from a quatrain passage shown by Dr. Taylor to be based on a lyrical version of the Ten Commandments in *Reliquae Antiquae* ("The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric," *Modern Philology*, V [1907], 28). Professor Carleton Brown has subsequently traced this lyrical version to the *Speculum Christiani*, and given MS evidence in favor of the probability that it was inserted in Towneley "well on toward the middle of the 15th century" ("The Towneley Play of the Doctors, and the *Speculum Christiani*," *MLN* XXXI [1916], 223-6). Though my parallel occurs also in the lyrical version in question, and hence itself proves nothing, certain other details warrant suggesting the possibility that this passage was adapted by the Wakefield author. Towneley, XVIII, 153, *slo v.* is substituted in rime for *sle v.* of the lyrical version, and *slo v.* is the customary form of the Wakefield author, who never uses *sle*. Though XVIII 163 *oker ne symony* is a phrase that occurs also in the lyrical version, the Wakefield passages of T XXX contain the only other use of the phrase in Towneley. (See J 297.) Cf. also XVIII 175 *rent sb.* with the Wakefield use of *rent*. (See B 162; J 134.) Within the Wakefield author's own work, there have already been pointed out several passages that illustrate his technique of adaptation (See Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 18, 29, 31).

⁵⁵ Though feminine rime of the three types in question also occurs in other extant mystery plays, there are two reasons why discussion may be limited to occurrence in York and Towneley:

Elsewhere in York the only concentrated use of feminine rimes is to be found in I, XL, XLVI, and parts of XLV. It seems plausible to assume, therefore, that the distinctive reviser of York XXIX-XXXIII also had a hand in these.

A glance at the citations given below in the notes reveals so many parallels between Wakefield rime-usage and that of the York plays distinguished by feminine rimes, that one cannot escape the conclusion of some causal relationship.⁵⁶ Davidson, and after him

- (1) We already know that the York and Towneley Passion Groups are related. (See Lyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-29.)
- (2) The feminine rime in question occurs in York and Towneley in combination with similarities in vocabulary and in juxtaposition of rime words.

⁵⁶ *Types of rime:*

- (1) Prs. ppl. in *-and* r. on root syll. *J* 595-8/Y I, XXX-XXXI, XXXIII, XLV, XLVI
- (2) Dissyllabic r. w. 2 words (*ken I : penny* etc.) *N* 186-8; *SP* 87-9; *H* 428, 32; *J* 147, 51 etc./Y I 94-5; XXXII 358, 60; XXXIII 378 . . . ; XLVI 127-9
- (3) Rime in *-ipp* *N* 361-4; *PP* 251-4 etc./Y XVIII 131, 3; XXXIII 366 . . .
- (4) Rime in *-app* *SP* 1-4; *H* 5, 9 etc./exs. Y XXVI ff.
- (5) Rime in *-aud* *SP* 176, 80; 593-6; *H* 352-5/Y XXX 237, 41; XXXII 68, 70
- (6) Rime in *-aunt* *SP* 185, 9/Y XXX 220-2; XXXIII 290 . . .
- (7) Rime in *-aunch* *H* 509, 13/Y XXXIII 369, 72
- (8) Rime in *-alk* *SP* 46-9; *B* 41, 5; 122, 6/Y XXIX 26, 8; XXXIII 482, 5; XL 86-7
- (9) Rime in *-urn* *SP* 140, 4/Y XL 85, 8
- (10) *ȝ* : OF *oi* bef. *-s* *SP* 222-4 etc./Y XXXIII 153, 6
- (11) Monosylls. in *-elt* *SP* 525, 9; *B* 280-3/Y XL 53, 6
- (12) *counsayll* sb. r. w. *-el* *SP* 275/Y XLVI 205
- (13) *skap* r. w. *ǣ* *B* 334-7/Y XXXIII 308

Types of rime word:

- trant* sb. *H* 235/Y XLII 168
wynk 'sleep' *C* 227; *SP* 156 etc./Y XXIX 75; XXXI 40
Iape sb.? *SP* 221/YXXII 6; XXX 387; XXXIV 54
rehett v. *H* 161/Y XXIX 287; XXXIII 363
leder, lidder a. *N* 289/Y XXX 254; XXXIII 120.
reherse v. *PP* 387/Y XXIX 310; XLVI 25
deuer 'duty' r. on root *B* 288/Y I 156; XXIV 157; XXXII 359 etc.
clatter v. *J* 345/Y XXX 242
a skaunce *C* 401/Y XXX 291

Greg and Gayley, regarded play XXX of late workmanship. Greg and Gayley also included XXXIII.⁵⁷ Miss Smith has shown that plays XXXIII-XXXV must have been enregistered subsequent to 1422.⁵⁸ As the Wakefield author's work is to be dated not earlier than the first quarter of the 15th century,⁵⁹ the evidence suggests that he and the distinctive York reviser were contemporaries, and perhaps even rivals. Rime technique and rime vocabulary are themselves quite as legitimate objects of literary imitation as is substance.

From the foregoing comparison of selected Wakefield rimes with rimes elsewhere in Towneley and in York, and from the question of interrelation in rime technique between the two cycles, we pass to a consideration of the general relationship between the York and Towneley manuscripts in respect to dialect forms for further comparison that may bear upon the subject at hand.

Detailed comparison between the York and Towneley manuscripts reveals two main differences, both distinctions of degree rather than kind. Although each manuscript contains contra-

har 'joint' B 210/Y XXX 378; XXXIII 136
wote 'knows' r. w. orig. o H 397; 422; B 344/Y XXVI 69 etc.
flap sb. 'blow' Scg 141/Y XXXIII 367
dysseuer r. w. *euer* N 27/Y XXXIII 60
mon) *senyours* T 409/Y XLI 78
bat sb. 'blow' H 490/Y XXXIII 429
stry 'hag' H 348/cf. Y XXIV 13
reke fig. 'tumult' J 168/Y XXVI 34
parlamente J 119/Y XLVI 49

Types of rime phrase:

Do Io furth, Io! and trott on a pase B 1/Y XXVIII 204
in the dwill way C 89, 449/Y XXIX 398; XXXI 406; XXXII 188
bere the bell PP 186; H 197/Y XXVI 195
on a rase PP 451/Y XXXIII 224
Pseudo Fr. phrase C 416; H 512-13; T 409; J 539/Y XXIX 87-8;
 XXX 281; 368; XXXI 146-7; 232-4; 319

⁵⁷ Charles Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays* (Yale University, 1892), p. 261. W. W. Greg, *Bibliographical and Textual Problems of the English Miracle Cycles*, reprinted from *The Library*, London, 1914, pp. 71, n. 1; 82. (Equivalent reference in *The Library* is Vol. V [1914], Pt. III, pp. 282, n. 1; 290-1). Charles Mills Gayley, "The Earlier Miracle Plays of England," *The International Quarterly*, X (1904), 126-28.

⁵⁸ Intro., xxiv, n. 1.

⁵⁹ See nn. 26 and 27.

dictory use of dialect forms due to composite origin and to scribal alteration, the Towneley manuscript as a whole shows much greater consistency and uniformity of usage than does York.⁶⁰ There is relatively less bungling of rimes through unintelligent scribal alteration,⁶¹ or through revision affecting the accuracy of rime by altering the original concept.⁶² The manuscript creates the impression of having been achieved with a studied effort to give something of a manuscript unity. The Midland scribe or scribes through whose hands the plays passed subsequent to the contributions by the Wakefield author were, on the whole, methodical in substitution of Midland for Northern equivalents.⁶³ In York there seems to be no such pervasive consistency underlying the heterogeneity of usage,⁶⁴ and in the Passion Group, abounding errors and irregularities point to a scribe baffled by his material.⁶⁵ In Towneley, much more than in York, contrasts exist more importantly between rime forms and forms within the line, than between the forms within the line, or between plays.⁶⁶

To illustrate, within the line, Towneley consistently uses *then* adv., *there* adv., *where* adv., *were* pret., *will* v., *shuld*, *thyse* or

⁶⁰ The York MS is a register of 'originals' used by various guilds (See Smith, *York Plays*, Intro. xvii). The origin of the Towneley MS is unknown, though Mr. Greg has conjectured an origin similar to that of York (See W. W. Greg, *op. cit.*, *The Library*, V [1914], 293).

⁶¹ The Wakefield author's work contains many of the Towneley errors.

⁶² My attention has been called to this type of inaccuracy by Professor Manly.

⁶³ Cf. the number of examples of $\bar{p} < \bar{a}$ in identical rime in the work of the Wakefield author. See n. 21.

⁶⁴ York, however, does uniformly retain the following Northern forms: *com* pret., *world*, *childer*, *moder*, *fader*.

⁶⁵ According to Miss Smith, Intro. xvii, the York scribe seems to have done his work pretty faithfully, "till he came to about the middle, when he must either have had several confusing MSS. to work from, involving perhaps alterations and combinations in the plays, or he may have been required to make these himself. This may be the source of the errors and irregularities in the verses which abound in the plays numbered XXVIII to XXXVI treating of the betrayal, trial, and passion of Jesus."

⁶⁶ To some extent such contrasts also occur in Towneley as between plays. Cf., for example, almost consistent use of *sen* 'since' in *Buffeting* (XXI), though *syn* is uniform in certain other plays.

thise or *thes* (e or *those*, *warld*, *longer*, *lete* v., *cam* pret.,⁶⁷ *which*,⁶⁸ *she*,⁶⁹ *is*,⁷⁰ *when*.⁷¹ With more exception, Towneley also uses pretty consistently within the line the following: *not* adv.,⁷² *sich*, *sych*,⁷³ *shall*,⁷⁴ *mekyll*; ⁷⁵ Midland *ȝ* equivalents of Northern *ā*; ⁷⁶ *o* spellings of *ȝ*, etc.⁷⁷ Both within the line and in rime, words like *thought*, *wrought*, etc. are uniformly spelled with the Northern *-oght*.

In York, on the other hand, there is alternation within the line between *es/is*,⁷⁸ *there/thare*, *w(h)ere* ⁷⁹/*whare/whore*, *when/whan* *sall/shall*, *suld/shuld*, *will/wol*, *she/sho*, *not/noght*, *such/slyke/swilk*,⁸⁰ spelling *-oght/-ought*, plural forms of the demonstrative *pyse*, *bis*, *be(i)s*, *bāse*, *bo*, *bā*, *bir*, *thar(e)/ther(e)/thair* 'their,'⁸¹ etc.

The second of the two essential differences between the York and Towneley manuscripts is that although the language of both cycles is basically Northern, modified by Midland, the York manu-

⁶⁷ There are the following exceptions: XXVII 56, 352 *wor*, *war* pret.; XXXI 98 *langer* adv.; B 263, PP 173 *com* pret. XXVII 83 *than*; XXXII 67 *thor*; XXVI 614 *whore*. (B 405 *thar* of the EETS edition reads *ther* in the manuscript, and is therefore, presumably, a typographical error and not an exceptional form.)

⁶⁸ In rime there is rare occurrence of *whilke*. (J 325).

⁶⁹ In rime there is one example of *sho*. See n. 17, p. 19.

⁷⁰ The form *es* never actually occurs in Towneley, but is several times implied by the rime. (See n. 34 [1]; IX 25; X 346; XXX 505.)

⁷¹ Cf. XXVIII 184 *whannow*.

⁷² Up to Towneley XXV I have found no instance of *noght*, but the form is scattered through plays XXV-XXX. *Ne* for the negative also occurs in plays XXVII-XXIX.

⁷³ J 274 *swilk*; B 103 *such*; XXXII 71 *slyk*.

⁷⁴ Scg 216; 254; VIII 366; 372; IX 71; XXIX 54; 377 *sall* 'shall.'

⁷⁵ Scg 55; I 67; 252; II 235; 277; VII 122; VIII 312; IX 37; XVIII 21; XX 242; XXIX 99 *mych*.

⁷⁶ Exceptions are: II 47 *stānys*; II 252; 259; 311; 314 *na*; SP 75 *wayte* 'knows'; XX 81 *mare* 'more.' Pronoun *thare* 'their' and adjective *awne* 'own' consistently retain *a*. In a number of words *-aw* is retained. Scattered examples of *a* retained before *-ld* also occur.

⁷⁷ Some examples: I 223 *luke*; XV 18 *behufys*; XXIII 662 *gud*; H 427; XXV 80; XXVII 60 *stud* etc.

⁷⁸ Variation tends to go by plays. Y I, for example, prefers *es*.

⁷⁹ Y XX 4 *were* seems to be unique in that cycle.

⁸⁰ Use of *such* is scattered throughout York but seems stronger in XXX, XXXI, and XXXIV.

⁸¹ Cf. esp. Y XI.

script shows in general a greater variety of Northern forms, especially within the line;⁸² and does not show the traces of Northeast Midland that are characteristic of Towneley. Both manuscripts contain certain Northern forms in common that are consistently used in both cycles.⁸³ Many of the forms peculiar to York which are not shared by Towneley, however, are also Northern. Of the following, the starred forms are Northern: **es* v.; **bowde* 'bold';⁸⁴ **sill* 'shall'; **suld* 'should'; **feght* 'fight'; **bus*, *bud* 'hehooves'; **owtane* 'except'; **byn* 'within'; **yeng* 'young';⁸⁵ **world*, **late* v. 'let'; **owder*; **owther*, -ir; **pir*, *per*(e 'these'; *wol* 'will'; *aren* 'are'; *fawlde* 'fold'; *stawlllys* 'stalls'; *sigging* 'saying'; *fleng* 'fling'; *sterres* 'stars'; *pis* 'these'; *ony* 'any'; *pouste* sb.;⁸⁶ *hem* 'them'; *saughe* pret. 'saw';⁸⁷ *skull* 'shall'; *much*, *moche*.⁸⁸ The last two forms are West, rather than East Midland.

Compare the Towneley forms which never occur in York: *traw* v.; *geyn* 'given'; *hane* 'have';⁸⁹ *foche*, *fott* 'fetch'; *warld*; *nawther*; *nawder*; *paustee*; *cam* pret.; *awre* 'anywhere'; *maght* sb.; *chylldren*; *then* 'nor'; *sych*, *sich*, *mych*. The majority are of non-Northern usage,⁹⁰ and *sych*, *mych* are primarily East Midland.

The fact that the Towneley manuscript, as has been shown, reveals a much greater underlying consistency and uniformity of usage than does York may, perhaps, bear interesting relationship to the results of my comparison of Wakefield rimes with rimes elsewhere in Towneley. The greater consistency in Towneley could mean that the scribe or scribes who pretty methodically substituted Midland for certain Northern forms were working from a manuscript that had already been compiled, instead of being faced, as

⁸² Towneley is apt to preserve in rime certain Northern forms which do not appear within the line, as *sho* 'she,' *whilke*, etc.

⁸³ For instance, *moder*, *fader*, *childer*.

⁸⁴ Vocalization of *l* is a feature of some Northern dialects at the present time. Cf. also *skawde* sb. 'scold' used in rime by the Wakefield author.

⁸⁵ The variant *yng* occurs in both Towneley and York.

⁸⁶ The Towneley form is *pauste*(e).

⁸⁷ In Towneley this preterite is always spelled *sagh*(e).

⁸⁸ The rare occurrence of West Midland *os* is shared in common by both York and Towneley: Y VIII 66, 140; T X 37; XXXII 44.

⁸⁹ XXIII 80 *geyn* and X 235 *hane* both occur in rime.

⁹⁰ Curiously, *then* 'nor' is a rare Northern usage which does not seem to occur in York. See N 108, 535; VII 75, 125; XXVIII 173; XXXI 166.

was apparently the York scribe, by the task of copying and compiling simultaneously. A scribe who was not distracted by problems of compilation would have a distinct advantage over one who was, when it came to carrying through a methodical substitution of his accustomed forms for those more foreign. In view of the evidence already presented in the comparison between Wakefield rimes and those elsewhere in Towneley, there is at least circumstantial support for a theory that the Wakefield playwright may have been the hypothetical compiler which the relative consistency of the usage in the Towneley manuscript might presuppose.⁹¹

Taken as a whole, the evidence of the rimes which has just been presented is significant in the following general respects. It reveals the Wakefield dramatist as an eclectic Northern writer, quite learned and widely read, but also versed in lowly speech and ways, who is striving consciously for variety in rime technique, and who is possessed of a more than superficial command of certain Midland forms and at least a passing knowledge of Southern ones. The variation and complexity of his riming devices suggest the cumulative technical variety of many mystery plays, diverse in origin, appropriated by him, and fused into a synthesis for expression of his artistic individuality over a period of time. They suggest him primarily as a reviser, augmenting his own devices from details of technique that appealed to his artist's fancy out of the composite material in process of being reworked by his pen. His easy use of hearty peasant terms and peasant psychology suggests him to have been, perhaps, a man of peasant origins, or at least long on intimate terms with Northern English peasantry. His knowledge of Latin, and his vocabulary of learned French, seem to place him as a clerk. His allusions to 'holy kyrk' and to church services, beside his derision for friars, and his literary freedom in use of vernacular and even vulgar terms suggest a secular priest. The evidence further reveals him primarily as a dramatist to whom realistic characterization, humorous effects, and movement of incident are of greater concern than the poetic merit and purity of his rimes.

Boise, Idaho.

⁹¹ It could be argued, of course, that the Towneley scribe had an outstandingly superior intellect, for there was a vast difference in the capabilities of various scribes. It could even be that the Towneley scribe was under orders to Midlandize.

